

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 12466 01 OF 02 101038Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----071486 101045Z /21

P 101024Z JUL 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO WHITE/HOUSE WASHDC PRIROITY  
SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9457

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 TOKYO 12466

EXDIS

STATE FOR SECRETARY AND EA, MR. HOLBROOKE

WHITE HOUSE FOR THE PRESIDENT, DR BRZEZINSKI, AND HENRY OWEN

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2  
TAGS: JA, XG, XT  
SUBJECT: JAPAN, EUROPE AND THE BONN SUMMIT, POLITICAL  
ASPECTS

1. AS THE PRESIDENT PREPARES FOR HIS PARTICIPATION IN THE  
BONN MEETING, I THOUGHT HE MIGHT FIND USEFUL SOME  
IMPRESSIONS I HAVE HAD MY STAFF ASSEMBLE CONCERNING JAPAN'S  
ROLE -- AND MORE IMPORTANTLY, JAPAN'S PERCEPTION OF ITS  
ROLE -- VIS-A-VIS EUROPE GENERALLY AND WITH RESPECT  
PARTICULARLY TO THIS FOURTH ECONOMIC SUMMIT.

2. I AM NOT DOING THIS AS SPECIAL PLEADING FOR "UNDER-  
STANDING JAPAN", NOR AM I ATTEMPTING TO MAKE THE JAPANESE  
CASE FOR THEM. THEY ARE QUITE CAPABLE OF HANDLING THAT FOR  
THEMSELVES. BUT I WOULD LIKE TO UNDERLINE WHAT I BELIEVE  
ARE HIGHLY IMPORTANT, IF STILL INCREMENTAL AND AMORPHOUS,  
CHANGES IN JAPANESE ATTITUDES TOWARD EUROPE AND TOWARD  
JAPAN'S ROLE IN THE WORLD WHICH WE--AND OUR EUROPEAN  
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PAGE 02 TOKYO 12466 01 OF 02 101038Z

ALLIES--SHOULD BE AWARE OF AND TAKE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO  
ENCOURAGE.

3. WHEN I MET WITH DR. BRZEZINSKI PRIOR TO COMING TO  
TOKYO WE DISCUSSED THE IMPORTANCE OF JAPAN'S "GLOBAL  
ENGAGEMENT" AS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN BUILDING AND MAIN-  
TAINING A STABLE AND PEACEFUL WORLD ORDER IN WHICH

DEMOCRATIC VALUES COULD BE SUSTAINED AND COULD THRIVE. I BELIEVE THAT JAPAN, UNDER FUKUDA'S LEADERSHIP AND WITH SONODA'S ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORT, IS MOVING MORE AND MORE TOWARD JUST THAT SORT OF GREATER WORLD INVOLVEMENT.

4. THE PROCESS WILL OF COURSE TAKE TIME AND MAY SUFFER SETBACKS ALONG THE WAY. BUT I BELIEVE IT IS ESSENTIAL FOR US TO PROVIDE WHATEVER REINFORCEMENT WE CAN. JAPAN'S RELATIONS WITH ITS FELLOW INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES OF EUROPE ARE IN SOME RESPECTS THE MOST CRUCIAL ASPECT OF AN EMERGING JAPANESE WORLD ROLE. JAPANESE LEADERS RECOGNIZE THIS, AND LOOK UPON FUKUDA'S TRIP TO BONN AS AN IMPORTANT STAGE IN WHAT IS GOING TO BE A LONG PROCESS. THE NEXT FOLLOWING MESSAGE SETS FORTH WHAT I THINK ARE THE IMPORTANT THINGS TO BEAR IN MIND -- APART FROM THE CORE ECONOMIC ISSUES THEMSELVES -- AS WE PREPARE TO MEET THE JAPANESE AND OUR EUROPEAN FRIENDS IN BONN. ITS MAIN POINTS:

-- JAPAN'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WITH EUROPE HAVE MADE THE GOJ MORE AWARE OF ITS EUROPEAN TIES AND THEIR STILL ESSENTIALLY ONE DIMENSIONAL CHARACTER, AND HAVE CONVINCED SOME WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT THAT WAYS MUST BE FOUND TO EXPAND THE RELATIONSHIP BEYOND THE ECONOMIC.

-- A GRADUAL EVOLUTION IN POPULAR ATTITUDES IN JAPAN  
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PAGE 03 TOKYO 12466 01 OF 02 101038Z

TOWARD ITS PROPER WORLD ROLE, INCLUDING MORE REALISTIC APPRECIATION OF SECURITY ISSUES, HAS CREATED CONDITIONS MORE CONDUCTIVE TO GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT OF A BROADER JAPAN-EUROPE DIALOGUE.

-- THE JAPANESE SEE THE FUKUDA VISIT TO BONN AND BRUSSELS (WHERE HE WILL GIVE A MAJOR SPEECH), AS AN IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY TO BEGIN TO STRENGTHEN TIES WITH EUROPE.

-- THE JAPANESE EXPECT CRITICISM OF THEIR ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE AT BONN -- AND ARE PREPARED TO DEFEND THAT PERFORMANCE -- BUT HOPE DIVISIVE DISCUSSION CAN BE AVERTED. JAPANESE SEEM MORE PREPARED NOW THAN AT ANY TIME IN THE PAST TO ACCEPT IMPLICITLY THE NECESSITY FOR A DEGREE OF POLITICAL, AS WELL AS ECONOMIC COORDINATION AMONG INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES, AND THIS COULD HAVE SUBTLE EFFECT ON FUKUDA'S APPROACH TO THE SUMMIT.

-- WHILE SEEKING, AT BONN AND BRUSSELS, TO CULTIVATE BETTER RELATIONS WITH EUROPEANS, GOJ AND FUKUDA PERSONALLY, WILL CONTINUE TO LOOK TOWARD US FOR SUPPORT, MORE INFORMED APPRECIATION OF THEIR CIRCUMSTANCES AND A MORE SYMPATHETIC

HEARING.

-- MOREOVER, THERE IS CONSTANT JAPANESE CONCERN THAT SENTIMENT MAY ARISE AT GATHERINGS SUCH AS THIS ONE TO "GANG-UP" ON JAPAN; THEY HOPE WE WILL STOUTLY RESIST ANY SUCH TEMPTATION.

-- WHETHER AS CATALYST OR BUFFER, WE HAVE IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY, AT BONN AND BEYOND, IN ASSISTING SLOW PROCESS OF DEVELOPING BETTER JAPAN-EUROPEAN TIES. IT IS IN OUR

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 12466 02 OF 02 101039Z

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W

-----071493 101042Z /12

P 101024Z JUL 78

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO WHITE/HOUSE WASHDC PRIORITY

SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9458

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 TOKYO 12466

EXDIS

WHITE HOUSE FOR THE PRESIDENT, DR. BRZEZINSKI, AND  
HENRY OWEN

STATE FOR SECRETARY AND EA, MR. HOLBROOKE

INTEREST TO SEEK TO DO SO. A STRONGER JAPAN-EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIP, DESIRABLE IN ITSELF, IS ALSO WAY-STATION TO MORE ACTIVE JAPANESE ROLE GLOBALLY, WHICH WE, AND EUROPEANS, SHOULD WELCOME AND ENCOURAGE. MANSFIELD

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## Message Attributes

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